

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ИСТОЧНОМ САРАЈЕВУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ ПАЛЕ

РАДОВИ
ФИЛОЗОФСКОГ ФАКУЛТЕТА
ФИЛОЗОФСКЕ И ПРИРОДНО-МАТЕМАТИЧКЕ
НАУКЕ

БРОЈ
15
књига 2

Пале,
2013

Publisher:

Faculty of Philosophy
University of East Sarajevo
Alekse Šantića 1, Pale
Phone: 057 223479
E-mail: filozof@paleol.net
<http://www.ffuis.edu.ba/radovi>

General Editor:

Milanka Babić

Editorial Board:

Babić Milanka, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Zuber Ljubomir, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Jović Goran, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Kadum Vladimir, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Croatia
Knežević Saša, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Kovačević Miloš, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Krnetić Dragoljub, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Kulić Mišo, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Kuljić Rajko, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Laušević Savo, University of Montenegro
Milisavljević Vladimir, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Milošević Božo, University of Novi Sad, Serbia
Pavlović Zlatko, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Perić Slaviša, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
Pečencov Aleksandar, Lomonosov State University, Russia
Pikula Milenko, University of East Sarajevo, BiH
François Arnaud, Université Toulouse II - Le Mirail, France

Editor-in-Chief:

Vladimir Milisavljević

Editorial Board Secretary:

Saša Knežević

Technical Editor:

Vlastimir Pantić

Language Editing and Proofreading:

Biljana Samardžić
Jadranka Regoje

English Translation:

Marija Letić

Desktop Publishing:

Vlastimir Pantić

Printed by:

„DIS-Company“ d.o.o. Pale

Circulation:

300 copies

Pale, 2013.

ISSN 1512-5858

COBISS.BH-ID 7948294

UNIVERSITY OF EAST SARAJEVO
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY PALE

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY
COLLECTION OF PAPERS

PHILOSOPHY, MATHEMATICS AND
NATURAL SCIENCES

ISSUE

15

volume 2

Pale,
2013

NOTES ON THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE STRATEGOPOULOS FAMILY

Abstract: In this paper, I summarize the information about several members of the Byzantine Strategopoulos family, adding to it the evidence of several less-known or unpublished documents from the Apennine peninsula between the 15th and 18th centuries. The family can be surveyed through two separate branches, one that rose to prominence through military service and court offices in the Empire in Nicaea and under the early Palaiologoi, the other that governed the city of Ioannina in Epiros under the Latins (the Buondelmonti and the Tocco families). Genealogical evidence about the connections between the kinsmen is fragmentary, but even such, it can still show that some members of the family followed their Tocco masters to Italy after the Ottoman conquest of the region in 1479, where they joined the Greek immigrant community of Naples. While the thirteenth-century branch of Nicaea-Constantinople was among the most prominent families of the Byzantine Empire, the prominence of the fifteenth-century branch in Epiros seems to have been confined only to the circles of the local Greek nobility and was not equal to the status of the privileged Tocco Italian nobles. A further fall in status is recorded for those kinsmen who relocated to the Apennines, where one of them reached respectable social position – but not nobility – in the provincial community of Lecce through trade around the mid-18th century. In the fifteenth century, some Strategopouloi converted to Catholicism, but some of them kept their Greek identity and faith even in the eighteenth century.

Key words: Strategopoulos family, aristocracy of the Empire in Nicaea, Palaiologoi aristocracy, Byzantine aristocracy in the fourteenth century, aristocracy in fifteenth-century Epiros, Despotate of Epiros, Tocco family, Greek immigrants in Naples, Greek immigrant community in Lecce.

In this paper I summarize the currently available information about the Strategopoulos family and add several less-known or unpublished documentary details that shed more light to their late-medieval and early-modern prosopography.

The earliest pieces of documentation about the Strategopouloi link them with the circle of military aristocracy of the Empire in Nicaea.¹ According to the family tradition, they stem from the imperial family of the Komnenoi, and this allegation was hinted on a seal inscription (1255) of the family's most prominent member, Alexios Strategopoulos (Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963; Angold 1975: 77;

* zecevicnada@yahoo.com

¹ For a general view of the Byzantine aristocracy in this period see Laiou 1973: 131–151; Ostrogorsky 1971: 1–32; Kyritzis 1997.

82; 85; 149; 325; Fassoulakis 1973: 31–33; Zacos and Veglery 1972: vol. 1, no. 2756, pp. 1577–99).²

Modern Byzantine historiography knows of several Strategopouloi who served the Byzantine Empire established in Nicaea after the Fourth Crusade (1204–1261) (Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963; Talbot 1991: vol. 3, 1963–1964; PLP 1991: vol. 11, 110–113 [nos. 26892–26901]). One of them was a *Ioannes Strategopoulos*, mentioned as a μέγας λογοθέτης on a seal from May 24 1216; in 1217 he was recorded as σεβαστός (Akropolites 2007: 143; Pseudo-Kodinos 1839: 2, 9; 2, 12; Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963.).

Certainly the most prominent family member was *Alexios*, mentioned around the mid-thirteenth century as one of the *duces militum* engaged in the European campaigns of Emperor John Doukas III Vatatzes (1221–1254); around 1252–1253, Alexios was recorded as the leader of a contingent that plundered Epiros, and in 1254–1255, he commanded Nicaean troops at Serres and in the western Rhodope mountains (Akropolites 1836: ch. 49, 97; ch. 57, 120; Akropolites 2007: 341; Pachymeres 1835: vol. 1, book II, ch. 26, pp. 137–138; Gregoras 1829: vol 1, book IV, cap. 3, pp. 90–91. Talbot 1991: 1963–4; Vougiouklaki 2008). Alexios reinforced his military skills by courtly services, and there we find him first appointed as μέγας πριμμικήριος (Akropolites 1836: ch. 49, 97; ch. 57, 120; Pseudo-Kodinos 1839: 2, 9). Under Theodore II Doukas Laskaris (1254–1258), he ended in captivity (Akropolites 1836: ch. 75, p. 165; Akropolites 2007: 288. Talbot 1991: vol. 3, 1963) because of his support to a faction that sided with Michael Palaiologos (Emperor Michael VIII 1261–1282). In the battle of Pelagonia (1259), Alexios participated in Michael's victory over the coalition formed by the Despotate of Epiros, Kingdom of Sicily and Principality of Achaea, and subsequently took from it the city of Arta. In 1262, Alexios was defeated and captured in Epiros by the coalition forces (Akropolites 1836: ch. 77, p. 171; ch. 82, p. 185; ch. 89, p. 198; Akropolites 2007: 365; 366; Pachymeres 1835: vol. 1, book I, ch. 32, p. 89, ln. 10–18; Talbot 1991: vol. 3, 1964).

The culmination of Alexios' prominence is certainly linked with Nicaean forces' seizure of Constantinople from the Latins on the night of July 25 1261. Romanticized versions of this event – one of them was annotated by Theodore Spandounes in the sixteenth century – claim that Alexios led a contingent of Greek and Cuman soldiers who first entered the city through a hole in the wall near the Gate of Selymbria, indicated to them by the local Greek population (Akropolites 1836: ch. 85, pp. 190–193; Akropolites 2007: 375–377; Pachymeres 1835: vol. 1, book II, chapt. 26–27, pp. 138–145; Gregoras 1829: vol. 1, book IV, cap. 2, p. 85, lns. 19–25; Spandounes 1890: vol. 9, 141, ln. 18; Spandounes 1997: 14).³

² Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963, explains the family's name as a derivate of στρατηγός and diminutive -πουλος.

³ In the earlier edition of Spandounes 1890: vol 9, 141, ln. 18, he is confused with a *Georgius Straticopoli*, which Nicol's edition corrected (Spandounes 1997: 14).

Alexios' military power (Pachymeres 1835: vol. 1, book II, p. 143, ln. 12–13: [...] στρατείας πολλάκις ἐσχολακῶς) was surely the key element that precipitated his advancement at the Palaiologoi court too, first through the position of μέγας δομέστικος, then of Caesar (Akropolites 1836: ch. 77, p. 171; Akropolites 2007: 361; Gregoras 1829: vol. 1, book III, ch. IV, p. 72, ln. 17; book IV, 1, p. 79, lns. 19–20; Pseudo-Kodinos 1839: 2, 7. Briet 1692: 148 [*Alexio Caesare, cognomento Strategopulo*]; Geanakoplos 1959: 92–123; Talbot 1991: vol. 3, 1963). Alexios also enjoyed the Emperor's special personal favor, which is best seen from the fact that Michael VIII liberated him from captivity by the coalition in Epiros (c. 1265) through an exchange to the sister of Manfred Hohenstaufen and Vatatzes' widow Constanza II (daughter of Frederic II Hohenstaufen and Bianca Lancia), who had been imprisoned by the Byzantines since the time of Theodore II Laskaris (Akropolites 1836: ch. 81, p. 182; Pachymeres 1835: vol. 1, I, 32, p. 89, lns. 10–18; Gregoras 1829: 1, IV, 3, 91, 22–24. del Giudice 1878: 33–34). Later, Alexios was recorded in 1270–1272, when he issued a grant to the monastery of Makrinitissi near Volos in Thessaly; on this occasion he was entitled as περιπόθητος αὐτάδελφος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως, ὁ πανευτυχέστατος δεσπότης, and signed as καῖσαρ (MM 1871: vol. 4 390. PLP 1991: vol. 11, 111. Cf. Barišić 1975: 69–103).

Alexios' son was *Constantine* (Konstantinos), mentioned by Georgios Akropolites as one of the μεγιστᾶνες between 1254 and 1258. Similarly as his father, Constantine too suffered from Theodore II Laskaris, who allegedly blinded him in 1255; after 1258, Constantine was recorded as enjoying the special favor of Michael Palaiologos (Akropolites 1836: ch. 75, 165; Akropolites 2007: 298; 339; Pachymeres 1835: vol. 1, liber 1, cap. 8, p. 24. PLP 1991: vol. 11, 112).

Apart from his military skills and courtly service, Constantine seems to have been closely related to the Palaiologoi through a family bond. His wife, recorded as *Strategopoulina* (c. 1254–1292), reportedly originated from the imperial family of the Doukai and her father, entitled sebastokrator, was said to have been the brother of Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes (Pachymeres 1835: vol. 1, book I, ch. 8, p. 24, ln. 10: τὴν γὰρ ἀδελφεδὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου ἐκείνου διδόντος εἶχε; Pachymeres 1835: vol. 2, II, 19, 154), most probably Isaac Doukas Vatatzes (Δούκας Ἰσάκιος).

During the rule of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), a *Michael Strategopoulos* was mentioned. The fact that he was referred as a relative of Empress Theodora Palaiologina, wife of Emperor Michael VIII, suggests that he was the son of Constantine Strategopoulos (Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963; PLP 1991: vol. 11, 112. Cf. Gregoras, 1, VI, 7, 190, 25, praising both his noble origin and his military excellence). In 1280, and later in 1283–1293, Michael held the dignity of πρωτοστράτωρ (Pachymeres 1835: vol. 2, book I, ch. 17, p. 52; Pseudo-Kodinos 1839: 2, 9. PLP 1991: vol. 11, 112). As a military commander, he was mentioned in Heraclea Pontica, where from he was expelled in 1280, to save his life only by an intervention that came directly from the

Empress (Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963; PLP 1991: vol. 11, 112.). During the Council of Blachernae held by Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory II the Cypriot in 1285 to reject the terms of the Union of Lyon, Michael acted as an imperial representative (Pachymeres 1835: vol. 2, book I, ch. 17, p. 52. Fleury 1832: vol. 43, 147; Papadakis 1996: 83–105). In 1284, Michael conspired with Constantine Palaiologos against this one's brother, Emperor Andronikos II, for which reason he allegedly died in prison (Pachymeres 1835: vol. 2, book II, ch. 19, p. 160–162; vol. 2, book II, ch. 29, p. 188; cf. Gregoras 1829: vol. 1, VI, 7, 191, 1–2; VI, 8, 195, 8–10; 197, 24–25. Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963; PLP 1991: vol. 11, 112. Cf. Bellini 1836: 81 [*Insieme con Costantino cadde preso a un tratto eziandio Michele Strategopulo, uomo fortissimo in armi, valoroso braccio dell' impero, e distruggitore formidabilissimo de' Barbari*]). Michael's wife seems to have been *Anna Komnena Raoulaina Strategopoulina*, mentioned in the sources of the time also as a *protostratorissa* and the patroness of the Soter Κραταῖός monastery in Constantinople (PLP 1991: vol. 11, 111; Talbot 2000: 34 and 39, n. 70, referring to Lambros 1895: 92–94, no. 1040). It seems that an *Andreas*, mentioned as Michael's son, was the offspring of this marriage (PLP 1991: vol. 11, 112).

A new record of the family is dated to 1297, but it refers to a person who did not live in Constantinople. A *Calemanus cognatus Straticopoli* was mentioned as a local *dux* in Spinaritsa near Valona, Albania (Thallóczy–Jireček–Šufflay 1918: vol. 2, 157, no. 529; Krekić 1961: 17, no. 52 [November 22, 1297]. Nicol 1984: 69, n. 21). Calemanus' origin is unclear, and no definite conclusion can be made on his direct genealogical connection with the thirteenth-century branch of Constantinople. A century later, another Strategopoulos appeared in the same region. This was *Simon*, captain (καπετάνος) of the city of Ioannina. Simon was loyal to the city's ruler at the time, Florentine noble Esaù Buondelmonti (cc. 1384–1411); following Esaù's death, allegedly in early Spring 1411, Simon took over the immediate government of the city on behalf of his master's widow Eudokia (1384–1411) (CroToc 1975: V, 4, 1351, 320).

The key source of our information about Simon Strategopoulos is a local narrative in demotic verse, the *Chronaca dei Tocco di Cephalaria*. This chronicle was created by a local Greek in order to celebrate the deeds of Carlo I Tocco (cc. 1411–1416), the ruler of the Ionian islands, who, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, expanded his family's domain to Epiros. In the Tocco chronicle, Simon was praised as prudent and valid, man of great ardor, power, and brave heart (CroToc 1975: IV, 5, 1218–1220).⁴ No doubt, the key reason for this high esteem lays in the fact that immediately upon the death of Esaù Buondelmonti, Simon, who had already been in charge with Ioannina's defenses, promoted and facilitated the establishment of the Tocco in the city (CroToc 1975: V, 4, 1341–1355, 320–322; IV, 5, 1223–1229, 310; V, 6, 1398–1410, 324). This brought to

⁴ The Tocco Chronicle also informs us that Simon suffered from *podalgia* (foot pain usually caused by rheumatism, spinal deformation, excessive weight or physical trauma), which, if true, is a rare valuable information about health conditions of some members of this family.

him the confirmation of his office by Carlo I, as well as a distinguished place in the Tocco administration in Epiros, and a strong personal favor of his new suzerain. Simon's significant role was recorded in the Tocco army too, and the Chronicle mentions the wounds he gained in the battle at *Kraneia* (c. 1412) where the Tocco troops fought against the local coalition of the Spata kindred and Ginno Zanebissi (CroToc 1975: VI, 12, 1751–1752, 350).

Reportedly, Simon had several sons, among whom *Paul* (Paulos) was the only one mentioned by name. Paul too fought among the Tocco troops at *Kraneia*, and was allegedly captured by Ginno Zanebissi (CroToc 1975: VI, 12, 1762–1764, 350). According to the Tocco chronicle, Paul and his brothers were the offspring of Simon's legitimate marriage, and the reference that they all lined in a regular succession order (CroToc 1975: IV, 5, 1221, 310) seems to hint that Paul was Simon's eldest son. Along Paul and his brothers, the Tocco Chronicle mentions one other person related to the family, Simon's son-in-law, which indicates that Simon had at least one daughter, at this time already in the mature age. Just like Simon's sons, his son-in-law was assigned also with high administrative and military functions in the Tocco power apparatus – Carlo made them all *κεφαλάδους* and thus they represented *μεγάλους μεγιστάνους* among the local elite (CroToc 1975: V, 17, 1594–1595, 338).⁵ Paul probably never reached the rank of the city captain which his father held – this is indicated by the horism of Sinan Pasha to Ioannina in 1431 in which Paul was still referred only as the 'son of the captain of Ioannina' (MM 1865: vol. 3, 282 ad ann. 1431: τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ καπετάνου κῦρ Παῦλον).

The record of the Strategopouloi from Epiros is fragmentary and of a highly narrative character, so no definite conclusion about their structure or genealogical connection with the Constantinopolitan branch can be made. Even if we accepted the possibility that they indeed originated from Caesar Alexios, this still cannot explain the reasons or circumstances of their relocation to Epiros. On one hand, their migration from Constantinople would have been a consequence of the Constantinopolitan practice which allowed sending imperial relatives to govern the provinces, especially the unstable ones. Equally, however, the relocation might have been the result of the family's punishment for Michael Strategopoulos' rebellion against Emperor Andronikos II. Another unclear issue is how to evaluate the prominence of the branch in Epiros. The Strategopouloi of Ioannina were recorded as frequently interacting with lower and non-Greek groups of the local society (cf. Matscke 1993: 143, n. 26.), which, compared to the perspective of the Constantinopolitan elite, might suggest a fall in their social status

⁵ It is important to stress here that Paul and his brothers were not designated as *archontopoula* by the Tocco Chronicle, which is another signal that this term usually described local nobility of a lower rank and not the junior sons of the town's elite. More on this Zečević 2009: 156, n. 16 (153–167). Cf. Ferluga 1961: 95–123, according to whom *archontopoula* were soldiers holding the pronia estates, while *archons* represented nobility that held their pronia together with patrimonial lands. On Ioannina's walled town and the space of power of the city captain, see Tsoures 1983: 133–57.

(Trapp 1991: vol. 3, 1963). On the other hand, however, *κεφαλή* and *καπετάνος* Simon, his sons and son-in-law, stood far above other members of Ioannina's elite in the times of the Latin rule (as can be best seen from their designation *μεγάλους μεγιστάνους*), in which case one can conclude that they, actually, represented the highest circles of the local society. In fact, Simon's position of captain also implied a considerable degree of governing power and it did not pertain only to the control of Ioannina's castle, but to a much more complex combination of civil and military control over the entire provincial area under Ioannina's jurisdiction (Maksimović 1988: 117–166). The next ambiguous issue is how to understand the highly privileged position of Simon and his offspring in the frameworks of the Tocco regime, namely, whether the privileges granted by the Tocco brought them special position among all subjects of the Tocco domain in the Heptanese, parts of the Peloponnese, and Epiros, or their prestige was confined just to city of Ioannina and its jurisdiction (Zečević 2009: 160). The fact that no family member can be found in the documents issued by Carlo I Tocco seems to confirm the conclusion that the Strategopouloi may have risen to the highest positions among the local population of Ioannina, but this still did not establish them in the circle of the closest Tocco entourage that always remained largely composed of Carlo's Italian compatriots. This ambiguity opens another question, that of the nature of the Strategopouloi exposure to the Latin feudal influences. From the Tocco Chronicle, for instance, it is clear that for his loyalty, Simon was granted a possession that could be further transferred in this family through inheritance (CroToc 1975: V, 18, 1590–1591, 1591, p. 338: *κάστρον τοῦ εὐεργέτησεν κατὰ κληρονομίας*). However, whether this meant that Simon received it under the conditions of a Latin *feudum* or as a Byzantine *pronoia* is unclear, first because the Chronicle's Greek terminology largely obfuscated authentic Latin terminology of the Tocco power, and second, because the institutions of Epiros had already been 'feudalized' long before the establishment of the Tocco there (CroToc 1975: V, 17, 1592. Ostrogorsky 1954; Ferluga 1961: 95–123; Jacoby 1971; Prinzing 1982: 73–120; Nicol 1984 : 19 ; 32 ; 47; 57; Stauridou-Zaphraka 1990 ; Bartousis 2013 ; Cf. Veikou 2012: 338–341.).

Carlo I Tocco died around mid-1429 and Ioannina soon fell to the Ottomans (1431). Simon and Paul Strategopouloi are mentioned for the last time in the horism of Sinan-pasha to the inhabitants of Ioannina (issued in 1431), in which the pasha promised the restoration of the city's ancient liberties in exchange for its loyalty to the Ottoman troops (MM 1865: vol. 3, 282–283: *καθὼς ἔχουν συνήθειαν [...] πάλιν νὰ τὰ ἔχωσι τὰ γονικά τους*). Did the Strategopouloi do once again what they had done before in 1411, when Simon delivered the city to the new lord at its gate? Or the Strategopouloi preferred to retreat with Carlo's nephew and heir, Carlo II (c. 1429–c. 1448) to the Tocco original domain in the Heptanese?

A conclusion that some of Strategopouloi might have indeed left Epiros and moved closer to the Tocco domain comes out from the evidence on a *Skantzileres*, who was mentioned in 1448 on the Peloponnese as conspiring with the

adherents of Theodore II Palaiologos against his brother, Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448). On this occasion, Skantzileres was mentioned also as ἄπιστος, based on which E. Trapp concluded that he converted to Catholicism (PLP 1991: vol. 11, 113. Cf. Kolbaba 1995: 120–134). Another Strategopoulos, a *Georgios*, was recorded in the town of Coron as a *sacellarius* (1499) (PLP 1991: vol. 11, 112).⁶ The genealogical connection between these two persons is, however, unknown, and there is no conclusive evidence that they were directly related to captain Simon of Ioannina and his family.

Another Strategopoulos of the Catholic rite, *GioMaria Strategopulo*, was mentioned as the resident of the island of Zakynthos, one of the core parts of the Tocco domain in the Heptanese. In 1479, the Tocco evacuated from there in front of the Ottoman armada, but in the time when *GioMaria* was mentioned (1531), the island was controlled by the Venetians. On August 17 1531, *GioMaria* helped the Knights of the Order of St. John in their attempt to recapture Modon of Messenia from the Ottomans. For this and his great military skill, the Hospitallers granted him a *feudum* and 200 *scudi* per year, claiming that this was largely due to the fact that *GioMaria* had been deprived of everything by the ‘Turks’ and ‘bandits of the Republic of Venice from Zakynthos’ (Sathas 1890: vol. 9, 193, 14; Marulli 1636: 716–718; Guglielmotti 1876: II, 25; 77).⁷ Probably for the same reason, *GioMaria* eventually joined the Hospitallers, and followed them to Malta, where, after 1532, we find him participating in the fortification of the Castello di Angelo, a residence of the Order’s Grand Master in Birg (Marulli 1636: 718).

A more certain evidence that some Strategopouloi indeed served the Tocco after the fall of Ioannina to the Ottomans in 1431, and even followed them to Naples after the family’s repatriation, comes out from the records of Leonardo III Tocco. On March 8 1494 in Naples, *Georgius* and *Amiraglio* Strategopouloi appeared among the witnesses of Leonardo’s last will (ASN, ATM: busta 6, perg. 218 [March 8, 1494]). The genealogical connection between these two Strategopouloi is not specified, but this document shows that both had already been settled in Naples and both belonged to the Greek immigrant community of this city.⁸ Leonardo’s last will also says that in the time prior to its composition Geo-

⁶ The office of *sacellarius*/σακελλάριος represented a financial and administration position in the Roman imperial or ecclesiastical treasury. After the 12th century, it remained in use in ecclesiastical spheres (almoner). In 1499, Coron was governed by the Venetians.

⁷ Another person with a similar name (*Giovanni Straticopulo*) was recorded as a participant of the pontifical armada prepared in 1538, as from Guglielmotti 1876: vol. I, p. 425.

⁸ No information exists to point out to a particular place where these two Strategopouloi might have lived in Naples. Among other people identified as ‘Greeks’ (actually, in most cases Latins who had lived in Greece) or through their residences in Greece were *Loysius de Gaeta*, *Diaconus Bartholomeus da Barges*, *Nicous Danus*, *An-*

rge helped Leonardo in a number of administration and negotiating issues, for which Leonardo owed him the amount of 200 golden Venetian ducats. To balance his debt, in his testament of March 8 1494, Leonardo allowed a mortgage on all of his revenues in the amount of 10 000 florins, assigning the payment of the debt specifically from his revenues in the domain of S. Maure of the *Marchionate* (Marquessate) of Gerace in Sicily. The debt was classified as ‘eternal’, that is, permanently pending till its final payment.

George appears again in two other notary acts issued by Leonardo III Tocco, also dated March 8 1494 (ASN, ATM: busta 6, perg. no. 217; ASN, ATM: busta 6, perg. no. 219). There too, he was identified as the resident of Naples (*habitor et incola Neapolitanus*), and a Greek from the East (*Greco partibus Orientis*). But, even more importantly, both documents designate George as the personal servant of Leonardo III Tocco. This means that, apart from some extraordinary occasional tasks, George took part in managing Leonardo’s affairs and domestic issues on a more regular basis. For his personal service (*servicia personalia*), George was paid, and Leonardo seems to have been highly satisfied with it (describing it as *fructuosa, utilia et alia magna sibi facta*). However, due to his bad financial situation, Leonardo remained indebted to George in this respect too, with five ounces of the ‘Sicilian currency.’⁹ After having first tried to pay a part of this debt with merchandise (*debitari recompensam et mercedem minimo reportatus*), Leonardo eventually obliged himself to pay it through regular annual installments in the period of six years, starting from August 1494.¹⁰ Like with the other debt of 200 Venetian ducats, these payments were also linked to Leonardo’s revenues from St. Maure of the *Marchionate* of Gerace in Sicily (*terre sancti mauri Marchioni Gerace dicte insule Sicilie*). The Tocco archival records do not contain any information on whether these debts were indeed paid, but since there is no mention of them or George after 1494, it can be assumed that this liability of Leonardo was resolved on time.

In addition to their relation with the Tocco family, the documents mentioning the two Strategopouloi as resident in Naples in 1494 suggest that by this time Greek nobles Amiraglio and George had already immersed into the Italian society. However, the almanacs of the Neapolitan nobility from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are silent about the family, which means that their social status in Naples eventually decreased and they did not succeed in integrating themselves into the local elite.

Documentary annotations about a *Michaele Straticopoli* of Lecce in 1764 (Marisa Martina: no. 2, 11r/12v [April 6, 1756 in Lecce]; no. 6, 14r–18v [April 11, 1764]; and no. 10, 27v–43v [April 21, 1764]) show that some me-

dreas Fragagnoti, and *Angelus Zannaci*. *Loysius*, *Bartholomeus*, and *Nicolaus Dana (Tana)* appeared also as witnesses in other Tocco documents dated March 8, 1494.

⁹ The document does not say how this amount related to the entire figure of *Georgius*’ salary.

¹⁰ A copy of this document in ASN, ATM, busta 28, 218r–227v, claims the debt to have been six ounces.

members of this family still managed to gain social affirmation, keeping, at the same time, their Greek identity.¹¹ In these annotations, Michaelae was mentioned as one of the most prominent members in the Greek community of Lecce. He earned this status as a merchant, and the substantial funds he had earned through trade allowed him to appear as one of the guarantees for the reconstruction of a chapel in the small church of St. Nicolas dei Greci in Lecce (Zacchino 1971: 160 [December 18 1764]: *Pro Dominis Anastasio Nicazza, et Michaelae Straticopoli Nationis Grecorum Levantinorum in hac civitate Lytii p.cis Neg.bus praesentibus [...] con il sudetti signori Anastasio Nicazza e Michele Straticopoli, Greci di Levante, commoranti in questa predetta citta, negozianti [...]*).

The evidence about the Strategopouloi shows a family that evolved over two centuries into at least two branches. While the existing source evidence is incomplete about their mutual genealogical connections, it is clear that the earlier branch differentiated through military service and courtly offices – possibly also a familial connection with the Doukai family – to the Byzantine Empire in Nicaea and the early Palaiologoi. The fifteenth-century Strategopouloi in Epiros had a similar pattern of advancement, only Simon and his family of Ioannina did this by serving Italian/Latin lords of the region, namely the Buondelmonti and Tocco families. Despite the scarce evidence about their genealogical connections, it is clear that some members of this family retired with the Tocco after the fall of Ioannina to the Ottomans in 1431, and that some of them, like George and Amiraglio served the Tocco family even after its repatriation to Italy. Having settled in Naples, some Strategopouloi kept their Greek identity, failing to integrate into the local Italian nobility. The information about Michaelae Strategopoulos from Lecce in 1764 shows that by this time some of the Strategopouloi reinforced their economic standing and social position in the Italian province through trade, still keeping strong links with the local Greek Orthodox community.

Sources

Unpublished:

Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio di Tocco di Montemiletto, Atti notarili, busta 6, perg. 217; 218; 219 (March 8, 1494).

¹¹ While there is no evidence on Michaelae's genealogical connection with the family of captain Simon Strategopoulos or Georgius and Amiraglio, from the fact that he was one of the key warrants in the restoration of the Orthodox church in Lecce it is clear that his connections with this Greek immigrant community were strong. The Orthodox church in Lecce had been taken from the Greeks by the Jesuits in 1574 as a consequence of the Roman Catholic suppression, especially evident after the Council of Trident (1545–1563).

Marisa Martina, Notaio Bruni Saverio: Lecce/Segnatura archivistica 46/76, Archivio di Stato di Lecce: no. 2, 11r/12v (April 6, 1756 in Lecce.), no. 6, 14r–18v (April 11, 1764), and no. 10, 27v–43v (April 21, 1764), at <<http://archiviodistatolecce.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/115/strumenti-di-ricerca-on-line>>. 01. 10. 2013.

Published:

- Akropolites 1836: *Georgii Acropolitae Annales*, ed. I. Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, Weber.
- Akropolites 2007: *George Akropolites, The History*, introduction, translation and commentary by Ruth Macrides, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- CroToc 1975: *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo*. Ed. with translation into Italian Giuseppe Schirò, Roma, Accademia nazionale de Lincei.
- Gregoras 1829: *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, Bonn, Weber.
- Krekić 1961: Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Age*, Paris–La Haye, Mouton.
- Lambros 1895: Spyr. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- MM 1865: Franz Miklosich and Ioachim Müller, *Acta et diplomata res Graecas Italasque illustrantia*, vol. 3, Vindobonae: Gerold, 1865.
- MM 1871: Fr. Miklosich and Ioachim Müller, *Acta et diplomata res Graecas Italasque illustrantia*, vol. 4, Vindobonae, Gerold.
- Pachymeres 1835: *Georgii Pachimeris De Michaelis et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. Imm. Bekker, in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, Weber.
- Pseudo-Kodinos 1839: *Codini Curopalatae De Officialibus Palatii C. politani et de officiis magnae ecclesiae liber*, ed. I. Bekker, in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, Weber.
- Thallóczy–Jireček–Šufflay 1918: Ludovicus Thallóczy – Constantinus Jireček – Emilianus v. Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, vol. 2, Vienna, Holzhausen.

Literature

- Angold 1975: Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1261)*, Oxford, Clarendon.
- Barišić 1975: Franjo Barišić, Diplomatar tesalijskih manastira Makrinitisa i Nea Petra (Diplomatarium of Thessalian monasteries Makrinitisa and Nea Petra), *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* vol. 16, Belgrade, 69–103.
- Bartousis 2013: Mark C. Bartousis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: the institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- Bellini 1836: Bernardo Bellini, *Pantografia istorica*, Cremona, Bellini.
- Briet 1692: Philippe Briet, *Pars tertia tomi secundi ad expedition prima Francorum in orientem*, Venetia, Hertz.
- del Giudice 1878: Giuseppe del Giudice, La famiglia di re Manfredi (I), *Archivio storico delle province Napoletane* vol. 3: 1, Napoli, Giannini, 3–80.
- Fassoulakis 1973: S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul–Ral(l)es*, Athens, n.p.
- Ferluga 1961: Jadran Ferluga, La ligèsse dans l'Empire Byzantin: Contribution a l'étude de la féodalité a Byzance, *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta* vol. 7, Belgrade, 95–123.
- Fleury 1832: Claude Fleury, *Storia ecclesiastica continuata dal P. Fabre*, vol. 43, Brescia, Bettoni.
- Geanakoplos 1959: Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine–Latin Relations*, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press.
- Guglielmotti 1876: Alberto Guglielmotti, *La Guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia dal 1500 al 1560*, 2 vols., Firenze, Le Monnier.
- Jacoby 1971: David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce Médiévale. Les "Assises de Romanie": Sources, application et diffusion*, Paris–La Haye, Mouton.
- Kolbaba 1995: Tia Kolbaba, Conversion from Greek Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism in the Fourteenth Century, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* vol. 19, Birmingham, 120–134.
- Kyritsis 1997: Dimitris Kyritsis, *The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries*, PhD thesis., Harvard University.
- Laiou 1973: Angeliki Laiou, The Byzantine aristocracy in the Palaeologean period: a case of arrested development, *Viator* 4, Los Angeles, 131–151.
- Maksimović 1988: Ljubomir Maksimović, *Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaiologoi*, Amsterdam, Hakkert.
- Marulli 1636: Geronimo Marulli, *Vite de' Gran Maestri della sacra religione di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, Napoli: Beltrano.
- Matschke 1993: K. P. Matschke, Notes on the Economic Establishment and Social Order of the Late Byzantine Kephala, *Byzantinische Forschungen* vol. 19, Amsterdam, 139–143.
- Nicol 1984: D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479*, Cambridge, MA, Cambridge University Press.
- Ostrogorsky 1954: George Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Bruxelles, Institut de la Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slave.
- Ostrogorsky 1971: G. Ostrogorsky, Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 25, Washington, 1–32.
- Papadakis 1996: Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: the Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus*, New York, Fordham University Press (revised, first edition 1983).
- PLP 1991: *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. Erich Trapp, vol. 11, Wien, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik.

- Prinzing 1982 : Günter Prinzing, Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas, *Ἡπειρωτικά χρονικά* 24, 73–120.
- Spandounes 1890 : Theodore Spandounes, De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani, ordine de la Corte, forma del guerreggiare loro, religione, rito, et costumi de la natione, in *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyene Âge*, vol. 9, ed. Konstantinos N. Sathas, Paris, Maisonneuve, 138–261.
- Spandounes 1997: *Theodore Spandounes: On the Origins of the Ottoman Emperors*, ed. And transl. to English Donald M. Nicol, Cambridge, MA, Cambridge University Press.
- Stauridou Zaphraka 1990: Alkmene Stauridou Zaphraka, *Νίκαια και Ἡπειρος τον 13^ο αιώνα: ιδεολογική αντιπαράθεση στην προσπάθειά τους να ανακτήσουν την αυτοκρατορία*, Athens, Βάνιας.
- Talbot 1991: Alice-Mary Talbot, Strategopoulos, Alexios, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1963–1964.
- Talbot 2000: Alice-Mary Talbot, Byzantine Monasticism and the Liturgical Arts, in *Perceptions of Byzantium and its Neighbors (843–1261): The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposium*, ed. Olenka Z. Pevny, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, Yale University Press, 22–39.
- Trapp 1991: Erich Trapp, Strategopoulos, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, Oxford University Press 1993, 1963.
- Tsoures 1983: Kostas Tsoures, ΗΒυζαντική οχύρωση των Ιωαννίνων, *Ἡπειρωτικά χρονικά* 25, Ioannina, 133–57.
- Vougiouklaki 2008: Pelelope Vougiouklaki. Alexios Strategopoulos, in *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World*, Foundation of the Hellenic World, 2008, at <<http://asiaminor.ehw.gr/forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaId=7175>>. 01. 10. 2013.
- Veikou 2012: Myrto Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus: a Topography of Transformation. Settlements of the Seventh–Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloakarnania*, Greece, Leiden, Brill.
- Zacchino 1971: Vittorio Zacchino, Un document sulla costruzione della chiesa Greca di Lecce, *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata n.s. vol. XXV*, 156–163, at <<http://emeroteca.provincia.brindisi.it/Studi%20Salentini/1970/Articoli/Un%20Documento%20sulla%20Costruzione%20della%20Chiesa%20Greca%20di%20Lecce.pdf>> 01. 10. 2013.
- Zacos and Veglery 1972: G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine lead seals*, vol. 1, Gluckstadt, Augustin, 1972.
- Zečević 2009: Nada Zečević, Nobiles, cives et popolari: four towns under the rule of Carlo I Tocco (c. 1375–1429), in *Segregation–Integration–Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 153–167.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE STRATEGOPOULOS FAMILY

Ioannes, megas lotothetes and sebastos 1216-1217

Alexios, fl. 1252-d. p. 1272

Constantine, fl. 1254

m. **Strategopoulina**, daughter of Isaak Doukas Vatatzes

Michael, fl. 1280-d. c. 1293

m. **Anna Komnena Psoulaina Strategopoulina**

Andreas

Calemanus, dux in Spinaritza, 1297

Simon, captain of Ioannina cc. 1411-1431

m. **MA**, legitimate consort

Paulus

sons

daughter

m. **MA**, commander of Tocco troops

Skatzileres

fl. 1448, Peloponnese, convert to Catholicism?

Georgios

.....

Amiraglio

March 1494 Naples

March 1494 Naples

Georgios

1499 sakellarios in Coron

Gio Maria of Zante

1531 Venetian subject on Zakynthos

1532 Hospitaller on Malta

Giovanni

1538, participating in the pontifical armada

Michaele

1764 merchant in Lecce

Нада Б. Зечевић

НАПОМЕНЕ О ПРОСОПОГРАФИЈИ ПОРОДИЦЕ СТРАТЕГОПУЛ

Резиме

У раду сумирам познате историографске податке о члановима византијске породице Стратегопул, те тим информацијама додајем вести из мање познате литературе или необјављене изворне грађе италијанске провенијенције, настале између 15. и 18. века. Историја ове породице може се пратити кроз две гране, једну која је свој племенити статус у Никејском Царству и под раним Палеолозима стекла током 13. века путем војне и дворске службе, а могуће и династичких бракова (Алексије, Константин и Михаел Стратегопул), и другу која је почетком 15. века управљала епирским градом Јањином за рачун Есауа Буонделмонтија и породице Токо (Симон, Павле). Подаци о генеолошким везама ове гране квалитативно су недостатни и веома фрагментарни, но чак и као такви, јасно показују да су неки од чланова пратили своје Токо господаре у Италију након османског освајања региона 1479 (Георгије, Амираљо), те да су се у Напуљу, где су избегли, повезивали са осталим имигрантима из Грчке. Док су се припадници никејско-цариградског огранка породице Стратегопул убрајали у најпроминентније племство византијског царства 13. века, истакнут положај епирског огранка у 15. веку огледао се само у односу на локално грчко племство и није био једнак статусу италијанских племића, привилегованих од стране породице Токо. Даљи пад друштвеног статуса овога рода читава се у немогућности породице да се инфилтрира у редове напуљског племства након преласка на Апенине. Михаел Стратегопул, становник провинцијског града на југу Италије, средином 18. века успео је остварити уважен положај, али само унутар своје локалне заједнице (и без признавања племићког статуса). Док су неки Стратегопули забележени у Грчкој током 15. века прелазили са православља на католичанство (Сканцилери, Ђомарија, итд.), пример Михаела Стратегопула из града Лесе показује да су неки од њих на Апенинима, упркос појачаном католичком притиску, чак и до 18. века успевали да одрже грчки идентитет и православну вероисповест.